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Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 NEA-14 IO-14 ISO-00 SAM-01 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04

RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 SAJ-01 NIC-01 EB-11

TRSE-00 OMB-01 DRC-01 /154 W
---------- 071683
R 071552Z MAY 74
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8810
INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES
AMCONSUL LUANDA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY RABAT
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USEC BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 2814

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT PO SP
SUBJ: SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTRY VIEWS ON PORTUGUESE DEVELOPMENTS

REF: (A) STATE 91983; (B) LISBON 1764

1. SUMMARY: SPANISH MFA HAS REACHED APPROXIMATELY SAME CONCLUSIONS AS DRAWN BY US EMBASSY PORTUGAL (REF B) WITH RESPECT TO PORTUGUESE DEVELOPMENTS. ALTHOUGH CONCERNED BY EFFECTIVENESS OF EARLY LEFTIST POLITICIZATION OF SITUATION, MFA BELIEVES MILITARY JUNTA HAS POWER AND POLITICAL FLEXIBILITY REQUIRED TO MAINTAIN CONTROL OF EVENTS. MFA, HOWEVER, UNSURE OF IMPLICATIONS OF CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF TWO JUNTAS: ONE LED BY SPINOLA AND OTHER REPRESENTING YOUNGER OFFICERS WHO FIRST INSTIGATED MILITARY COUP. JUNTA'S INITIAL STEPS, SUCH AS
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LIGHTNING VISIT BY COSTA GOMES TO ANGOLA, CONSIDERED BY MFA

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AS INDICATION THAT JUNTA WOULD CONTROL EVENTS IN COLONIES BY PREVENTING WHITE-LED INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS AND OPENING PATH FOR POLITICAL REPRESENTATION OF INSURGENTS. MFA BELIEVES FIRST OFFICIAL INDICATION OF NEW GOP'S COLONIAL POLICIES WOULD TAKE PLACE IN GENEVA MAY 7 ON ISSUE OF SEATING OF GUINEA-BISSAU IN WHO. SHOULD PORTUGUESE INTERNAL DEMOCRATIZATION LEAD TO EARLY CLOSE ASSOCIATION WITH/OR ADMISSION OF PORTUGAL TO EEC, IMPACT OF SUCH A DEVELOPMENT WOULD BE ENORMOUS IN SPAIN. GOS SEE POLITICAL SKILL IN SOARES' VISITS TO EUROPEAN CAPITALS LED BY SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS. MFA NOT CONCERNED BY SOARES' COMMENTS RE ANACHRONISTIC CHARACTER OF IBERIAN PACT WHICH IS STILL USEFUL TO BOTH COUNTRIES BECAUSE OF ITS BREVITY AND PRINCIPLE OF NON-AGGRESSION. DISCONTINUANCE OF PERSONAL TIES BETWEEN HEADS OF STATE AND OTHER CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT LEADERS WILL, ACCORDING TO MFA OFFICIAL, PROBABLY MEAN THAT MILITARY CHANNELS, DEVELOPED THROUGH PERIODIC JOINT GENERAL STAFF MEETINGS UNDER IBERIAN PACT, WILL BE CHIEF CHANNEL OF BILATERAL COMMUNICATION IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE. END SUMMARY

2. IN CONFORMITY WITH REF A, EMBOFF EXCHANGED IMPRESSIONS ON PORTUGUESE SITUATION WITH HEAD OF WEST EUROPE DIVISION IN SPANISH MFA MAY 6. EMBOFF USED RECENT AMEMBASSY LISBON MESSAGES TO ELUCIDATE PARTICULAR ASPECTS OF PORTUGUESE SITUATION. ACCORDING TO MFA OFFICIAL, MFA HAD REACHED SAME CONCLUSIONS WITH RESPECT TO PORTUGUESE DEVELOPMENTS. HE WENT ON TO MAKE FOLLOWING POINTS:

3. INTERNAL AFFAIRS - MFA BELIEVED THAT SOARES' APPARENT COMMITMENT TO INCLUDE PORTUGUESE CP IN FUTURE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT STEMMED FROM HIS CONVICTION THAT MAIN PUBLIC ISSUE WOULD BE THREAT OF ECONOMIC BREAKDOWN AND HE DID NOT WANT PORTUGUESE CP IN POSITION TO EXPLOIT ANY UNPOPULAR MEASURES PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT MIGHT HAVE TO ADOPT. MFA WAS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED THAT IF PORTUGUESE CP WAS BROUGHT INTO GOVERNMENT IN PORTUGAL AND MITTERAND BECAME PRESIDENT OF FRANCE, THERE WOULD BE GREAT PRESSURE ON SPAIN TO CONSIDER SPANISH CP PARTICIPATION IN ANY FUTURE LIBERALIZATION OF SPAIN'S INTERNAL SYSTEM.

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4. MFA WAS CONCERNED ABOUT REPORTS THAT LEFTISTS HAD MANAGED TO PREVENT DEPARTURE FOR COLONIES OF A GROUP OF REINFORCEMENTS WHICH WAS SCHEDULED TO FLY FROM LISBON OVER WEEK END. JUNTA'S MILITARY CONTROL STILL SEEMED VERY EFFECTIVE BUT MFA CONCERNED ABOUT ANY REPORTS OF A BREAKDOWN IN DISCIPLINE. MFA OFFICIAL ALSO CITED SPANISH REPORT THAT A HANDFUL OF ENLISTED MEN IN UNIFORM HAD PARTICIPATED MAY 1 IN MANIFESTATION LED BY PORTUGUESE CP.

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5. MFA WAS UNSURE HOW TO INTERPRET CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF TWO DIFFERENT MILITARY JUNTAS IN LISBON. ACCORDING TO ITS INFORMATION, MOVEMENT OF NATIONAL SALVATION LED BY SPINOLA WAS WORKING IN BUILDING OPPOSITE ANOTHER BUILDING OCCUPIED BY JUNTA OF THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT. MFA BELIEVED THAT LATTER REPRESENTED YOUNGER FIELD GRADE AND COMPANY GRADE OFFICERS WHO IN EFFECT SEEMED TO HAVE BEEN PRIME MOVERS OF COUP. MFA CONCERN STEMMED IN PART FROM ANNOUNCED DISMISSALS OF SOME 25 GENERALS WHO APPARENTLY WOULD NOT GO ALONG WITH POLICIES OF ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT.

6. COLONIAL PROBLEM - MFA BELIEVED THAT GENERAL COSTA GOMES' LIGHTNING TRIP TO AFRICA MAY 5-6 INDICATED THAT JUNTA WAS TRYING TO PRE-EMPT INITIATIVE FROM INSURGENTS OR WHITE-LED MINORITY AND TO INSURE UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT BY PORTUGUESE COLONIAL ARMY FOR JUNTA'S OBJECTIVES. IN THIS CONNECTION, MFA OFFICIAL SPECULATED THAT COMMENTS MADE TO VARIOUS EUROPEAN CORRESPONDENTS BY SOCIALIST LEADER SOARES ABOUT DANGER OF WHITE-LED INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS IN PORTUGUESE COLONIES MAY POSSIBLY HAVE BEEN A CALCULATED SIGNAL TO INSURGENTS TO SEEK DIALOGUE WITH PORTUGUESE ARMY ABOUT FUTURE OF COLONIES. MFA DID NOT BELIEVE THERE WAS ANY FUTURE IN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS LED BY WHITE-LED MINORITIES IN PORTUGUESE COLONIES. PORTUGUESE ARMY, REPRESENTING APPROXIMATELY 150,000, WAS TOO STRONG SO THAT SITUATION WAS NOT COMPARABLE TO SITUATION A DECADE AGO IN RHODESIA. SECONDLY, ANY WHITE-LED INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT WOULD NECESSARILY HAVE TO HAVE SUPPORT FROM REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA. GOS DID NOT BELIEVE THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAD CAPABILI
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RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 SAJ-01 NIC-01 EB-11

TRSE-00 OMB-01 DRC-01 /154 W
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FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WEBHDC 8811
INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON
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AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY RABAT
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USEC BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA

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7. MFA SAW FIRST TEST OF JUNTA'S COLONIAL POLICY IN OPENING SESSION OF WHO SCHEDULED FOR GENEVA MAY 7. AGENDA WOULD INCLUDE ISSUE OF SEATING OF GUINEA-BISSAU WHICH PORTUGUESE, SUPPORTED BY SPAIN AND OTHERS, HAD OPPOSED UP TO THIS POINT. MFA OFFICIAL SAID THAT PORTUGUESEHAD NOT MADE ANY DEMARCHE WITH SPANISH MFA SINCE MILITARY COUP. GOS, HOWEVER, HAD DECIDED THAT IN VIEW OF CHANGED CIRCUM-STANCES IN PORTUGAL, SPANISH DELEGATION IN GENEVA WOULD ABSTAIN ON VOTE RATHER THAN OPPOSE GUINEA-BISSAU'S SEATING.

8. MFA ALSO FORESAW THAT ANY MOVEMENT TOWARDS SELF-DETERMINATION IN PORTUGAL'S AFRICAN COLONIES WOULD HAVE REPERCUSSIONS ON SPAIN'S POLICIES WITH RESPECT TO SPANISH SAHARA. SPAIN DID NOT WANT TO END UP BY REPLACING PORTUGAL AS WHIPPING BOY OF ANTI-COLONIAL COUNTRIES.
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CONSEQUENTLY, THE PACE WHICH SPAIN HAS ALREADY ADOPTED TOWARDS SELF-DETERMINATION IN SPANIS SAHARA MIGHT HAVE TO BE CHANGED.

9. BILATERAL RELATIONS - MFA WAS CONCERNED THAT NEW JUNTA MIGHT POSSIBLY YIELD TO SOCIALIST PARTY'S DEMAND THAT FORMER PRESIDENT TOMAS AND PREMIER CAETANO BE PROSECUTED. AGAINST BACKGROUND OF CLOSE TIES BETWEEN TOMAS AND FRANCO, AS WELL AS BETWEEN CAETANO AND FORMER SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTER LOPEZ RODO, SUCH TRIALS WOULD PROBABLY STRAIN BILATERAL RELATIONS. ACCORDING TO MFA, DISCONTINUANCE OF THESE HIGH LEVEL PERSONAL TIES WOULD PROBABLY LEND MORE IMPORTANCE IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE TO TIES BETWEEN MILITARY OFFICERS RESULTING FROM PRACTICE OF HOLDING SEMI-ANNUAL MEETINGS OF JOINT PENINSULAR STAFF AS PROVIDED IN IBERIAN PACT. MFA WAS WELL AWARE THAT SPANISH CHIEF OF HIGH GENERAL STAFF, DIEZ-ALEGRIA, WAS A CLOSE FRIEND OF COSTA GOMES. MFA OFFICIAL POINTED OUT THAT COMMENTS BY SOARES INDICATING THAT IBERIAN PACT HAD BECOME ANACHRONISTIC SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN TOO SERIOUSLY. MFA DID NOT FEAR ANY UNILATERAL DENUNCIATION BY PORTUGAL BECAUSE OF PACT'S NON-AGGRESSION FEATURE. MOREOVER, BOTH COUNTRIES CONSIDERED PACT USEFUL BECAUSE WM NOT ONLY HAD A BRIEF TEXT BUT BECAUSE IT WAS SHORT ON COMMITMENTS.

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10. MFA OFFICIAL ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT COMMENTARIES IN SPANISH PRESS WITH RESPECT TO BASIC PORTUGUESE FEAR OF SPAIN AS PROVIDING RAISON D'ETRE OF PORTUGUESE EXISTENCE WAS POSSIBLY ONE ASPECT OF FEARS THAT MFA BELIEVED ACCOUNTED FOR PORTUGUESE POPULATION'S RECENT ORDERLY BEHAVIOR SUBSEQUENT TO MILITARY COUP. GOS WAS WELL AWARE THAT SPINOLA'S BOOK ON PORTUGAL'S FUTURE REFERRED TO POSSIBILITY OF SPANISH DOMINATION IN EVENT THAT PORTUGAL FAILED TO MAINTAIN ITS COHESION IN WAKE OF A SOLUTION TO COLONIAL PROBLEMS AND THEIR IMPACT ON INTERNAL AFFAIRS. MFA BELIEVED THAT THERE WAS NO REASON FOR THESE PORTUGUESE FEARS BUT WAS WELL AWARE THAT THEY HAVE ALWAYS BEEN USED BY PORTUGUESE POLITICAL LEADERS AS WAY OF INTIMIDATING POPULATION. IN MFA OFFICIAL'S VIEW, FEAR EXPLAINED WHY MAY 1 DEMONSTRATIONS PROCEEDED SO PEACEFULLY, INASMUCH AS EVERYONE WAS AWARE THAT THERE WERE SOME INTERESTS WHICH
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WOULD HAVE PREFERRED A BLOODBATH. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE WERE ALSO INTERESTS IN SPAIN WHICH WOULD HAVE PREFERRED SEEING A BLOODBATH IN PORTUGAL.

11. RELATIONS WITH WEST EUROPE - MFA WAS IMPRESSED WITH SUCCESS OF SOCIALIST LEADER SOARES IN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC CAPITALS IN EUROPE. BESIDES AUGMENTING HIS PERSONAL PRESTIGE AS POTENTIAL FOREIGN MINISTER OR PRIME MINISTER, HE ALSO OBTAINED CONCRETE PLEDGES OF SUPPORT FROM THESE COUNTRIES WHICH WOULD BUTTRESS SOCIALIST PARTY'S EFFORTS TO GUIDE JUNTA IN PATH OF DEMOCRATIZATION. MFA OFFICIAL SAID THAT SHOULD PORTUGAL SUCCEED IN OBTAINING ENTRY INTO EEC SUBSEQUENT TO ITS DEMOCRATIZATION, THERE WOULD BE A PROFOUND IMPACT IN SPAIN, AS LIBERALIZATION IS PATH THAT MANY IN SPAIN SEE AS ROUTE TO ENTRY IN EEC.
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